现实主义者的乌托邦

UTOPIA FOR REALISTS

如何建构一个理想世界

HOW WE CAN BUILD THE IDEAL WORLD

[荷] 鲁特格尔·布雷格曼 _ 著
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> 一幅没有乌托邦的地图是不值得一看的，因为它漏掉了那个人性永远存在的国度。人性一旦存在，它将会寻找并发现一个美好的国度，然后朝着它扬帆驶去。进步就是实现乌托邦。
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> ——奥斯卡·王尔德
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> （Oscar Wilde，1854—1900）

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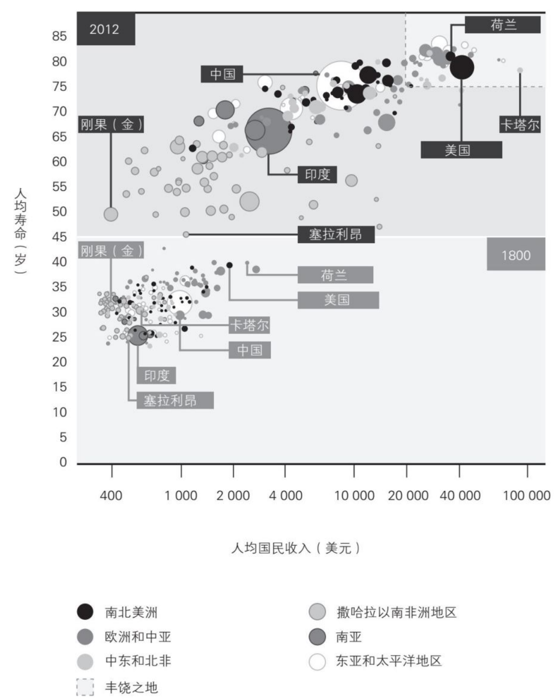


图1 200年的惊人发展

这个图需要花点时间才能看明白。每个圆圈代表一个国家。圆圈越大，说明这个国家的人口越多。下面部分显示的是1800年这些国家的情况；上面显示的是2012年这些国家的情况。1800年的时候，即使是最富裕的国家（例如荷兰、美国），人均寿命也比2012年卫生条件最差的国家（塞拉利昂）要低。换句话说：1800年的时候，所有的国家不仅贫穷，卫生状况也很糟糕，而今天，即使撒哈拉以南非洲地区的情况，也比1800年那些最富裕的国家要好［尽管实际上刚果（金）的收入过去200年里几乎没有什么变化］。确实，越来越多的国家正距离“丰饶之地”，即图的右上方越来越近，现在那里的平均收入高达20 000美元，人均寿命超过75岁。

资料来源：Gapminder.org

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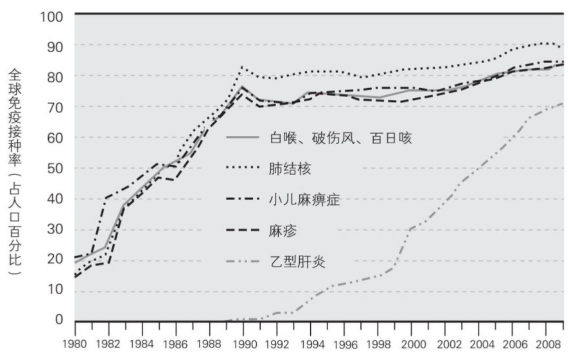


图2 疫苗的胜利

资料来源：世界卫生组织

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图3 战争在减少

资料来源：奥斯陆和平研究所

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> 有钱好过没钱，如果仅仅从财务方面考虑。
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> ——伍迪·艾伦
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> （Woody Allen，1935— ）

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> 于是，我们有了检查检查员的检查员，以及制造工具的人，这样检查员才可以检查检查员。人们真正应该做的是，在有人跑过来跟他们说，他们应该努力谋生之前，回到学校，思考无论什么问题。
>
> ——理查德·巴克敏斯特·富勒
>
> （Richard Buckminster Fuller，1895—1983）

1997[illegible]11[illegible]13[illegible]Great Smoky Mountains[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Harrah’s Cherokee[illegible]the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[1][illegible]

[illegible]35 000[illegible][2][illegible]1 000[illegible]100[illegible]——2004[illegible]1.5[illegible]2010[illegible]4[illegible][3]——[illegible]8 000[illegible]500[illegible]2001[illegible]6 000[illegible]1/4 ~ 1/3[illegible][4]

[illegible]1993[illegible]Duke University[illegible]·[illegible]Jane Costello[illegible]1 420[illegible]1855[illegible]·[illegible]Edward Jarvis[illegible]“Report on Insanity”[illegible]

[illegible]6 000[illegible]1/4[illegible]

[illegible]40%[illegible][5][illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[6][illegible]4 000[illegible]21[illegible]16[illegible]22%[illegible][7]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]（Vickie Bradley）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible][9][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]（Margaret Thatcher）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Eldar Shafir[illegible]·[illegible]Sendhil Mullainathan[illegible][11][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”（Mental bandwidth）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

“[illegible]13 ~ 14[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]150[illegible]1 500[illegible]

[illegible]1 500[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]8 000[illegible]Vilupuram[illegible]Tiruvannamalai[illegible]60%[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Randall Akee[illegible][12][illegible]290[illegible]440[illegible][13][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]1/5[illegible][15][illegible]·[illegible]Greg Duncan[illegible]4 500[illegible]——[illegible]

* 工作时间增加12.5%
* 每年节约3 000美元的福利支出
* 终身所得增加50 000～100 000美元
* 国家的税收收入增加10 000～20 000美元

[illegible]“[illegible]”。[16]

[illegible]2013[illegible]5 000[illegible]450[illegible][17][illegible]

[illegible]201[illegible][18][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]30%[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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[illegible]5 000[illegible][19][illegible]

[illegible]

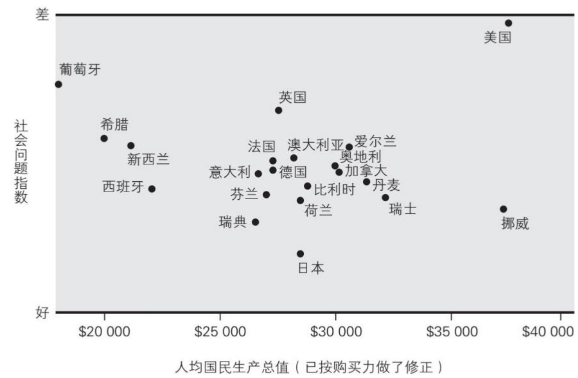


图4

社会问题指数（图中以纵坐标表示）包括人均寿命、文化水平、儿童死亡率、谋杀率、囚犯人数、少女怀孕率、抑郁率、社会信任度、肥胖率、吸毒和酗酒率，以及社会流动性与阶级固化的对比。

资料来源：Wilkinson and Pickett

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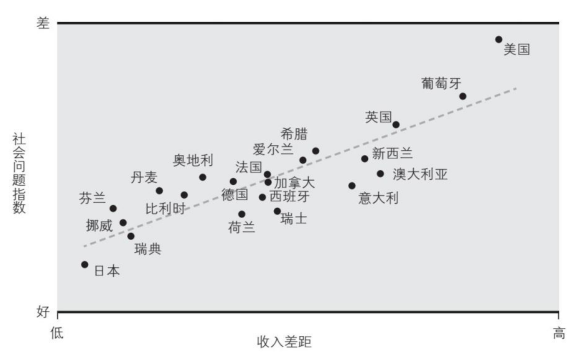


图5

收入差距（图中以横坐标表示）指的是国内最富和最穷的20%人口之间的收入差距。资料来源：Wilkinson and Pickett

[illegible][21]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][22]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]International Monetary Fund[illegible]

[23] [illegible]
[illegible] [24]

“[illegible]”[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]
[illegible]” [25]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2 000[illegible]Jesus of Nazareth[illegible] [26]
[illegible]
[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·
[illegible]Philippe Hecquet[illegible]1661—1737[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Young[illegible]1741—1820[illegible]“[illegible]
[illegible]” [27]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]
[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Bernard de Mandeville[illegible]1670—1733[illegible]“[illegible]
[illegible]”[illegible] [28]

[illegible]·[illegible]Henry Ford[illegible]1914[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”1782[illegible]·[illegible]Samuel Johnson[illegible][29] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Lloyd Pendleton[illegible]Utah’s Homeless Task Force[illegible]21[illegible]

2005[illegible]17[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]213%[illegible]74%[illegible]Tea Party[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

[illegible]16 670[illegible]11 000[illegible][31]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [32] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2005[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]2.17[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]The Hague[illegible]Utrecht[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]2006[illegible]2[illegible]——2014[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]65%[illegible]2008[illegible]10[illegible]1[illegible]6 500[illegible] [33] [illegible] [34]

[illegible]2013[illegible]12[illegible]Statistics Netherlands[illegible] [35] [illegible]

[illegible]2011[illegible]2 ~ 3[illegible] [36]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][37][illegible]5[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Casper[illegible]“[illegible]”[39]

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□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

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UTOPIA FOR REALISTS

[illegible]

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> 那些无法牢记过去的人，注定将重蹈覆辙。
>
> ——乔治·桑塔亚纳
>
> （George Santayana，1863—1952）

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]20[illegible]70[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]1969[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1974[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1969[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]War on Poverty[illegible]4[illegible]1 600[illegible]2016[illegible]10 000[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Martin Anderson[illegible]·[illegible]Ayn Rand[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]150[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Karl Polanyi[illegible]*The Great Transofrmation*[illegible]1944[illegible]——[illegible]19[illegible]

“‘’”“1834”“”“”

·“”[2]

150

“”

——·Daniel Moynihan·Milton Friedman“”[3]

1969“”1 30090%

“”·Brian Steensland“”[4]

8·Benjamin Disraeli·Lord Randolph Churchill“”“”[5]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1 600[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1795[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]Napoleon Bonaparte[illegible]Toulon[illegible]

[illegible]1795[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]Speen[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8][illegible]

[illegible]（1558—1603）[illegible]（Poor Law）[illegible]——[illegible]150[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]（William Pitt the Younger）[illegible]10[illegible]1786[illegible]·[illegible]（Joseph Townsend）[illegible]*Dissertation on the Poor Laws*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]（Thomas Malthus）[illegible]1798[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]（the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse）[illegible]1349—1353[illegible][9]

[illegible]·[illegible]（David Ricardo）[illegible][10]

1830[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2 000[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1832[illegible]13 000[illegible]

[illegible]Royal Commission[illegible]……[illegible]

1. 穷人又变得勤劳起来。
2. 他们养成了“节俭的习惯”。
3. “要求工作”的人增多了。
4. 他们的工资“总体而言得到了提升”。
5. 他们中“草率而不幸的婚姻”减少了。
6. 他们的“道德和社会状况全面得到提升”。[11]

[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]*Das Kapital*[illegible]1867[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Jeremy Bentham[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Alexis de Tocqueville[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Stuart Mill[illegible]·[illegible][12] [illegible]

150[illegible]

[illegible]

20[illegible]10%[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Edwin Chadwick[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][14][illegible]20[illegible]150[illegible]

[illegible][15]

[illegible]——[illegible][16][illegible][17][illegible]1819[illegible]·[illegible][18]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1790—1830[illegible]1/3[illegible][19][illegible]

[illegible]

1834[illegible]1830[illegible]2%[illegible]1834[illegible]1%[illegible][20][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Andover[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Dickens[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Oliver Twist[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22][illegible]·[illegible]Simon Szreter[illegible]

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[illegible]1834[illegible]

1981[illegible]·[illegible]George Gilder[illegible]*Wealth and Poverty*[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Murray[illegible]*Losing Ground*[illegible][24]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[25][illegible]·[illegible][26][illegible]

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> 国民生产总值……可以用来衡量一切东西……除了人生价值。
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> ——罗伯特·F. 肯尼迪
>
> （Robert F. Kennedy，1925—1968）

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马克·戈伯格这样写道：

2011年，被归类为暴力的成年人精神病患者只有2%。2013年，对精神病患者被射杀的问题进行调查之后，警察又提出了加强警员培训的建议。此后，实际被射杀的人数又下降了——在过去的两年里，一直保持为零。

越来越多的专家指出，全面结束对精神疾病污名化最有效的方式是一种20世纪的治疗方案——“家庭”疗法。始建于1953年的吉尔精神病家庭医疗中心，一直以来都是平均约有2 000名精神病患者的大家庭，其中有些患者会在20年到50年的时间里与同一户人家一起生活。在研究比利时乡村城市吉尔的历史犯罪档案时，犯罪率只有2%到最多的8%，“犯罪频率显著低于一般人群”，多数都是一些轻微犯罪。[4]

第二课堂：

我们都知道，社会中必须要有警察。但是，实际上，社会对警察的依赖，可能比人们以为的程度要低得多。

我们又该如何解释这一现象呢？在这种情况下，必须注意到一个事实。1850年，法国经济学家弗雷德里克·巴斯夏（Frédéric Bastiat）曾经写过一篇文章，题为“Ce qu’on voit et ce qu’on ne voit pas”，意思是“看得见的与看不见的（之物）”。[5] 巴斯夏在文中以一个小男孩打碎窗户玻璃为例——镇上的人都说，“这对玻璃工人是好事，因为他挣到了6法郎——可如果他没打碎玻璃，他家的老板本来可以用这笔钱买一双鞋，或者买一本书，以这6法郎来增加……”这就是看不见之物。

如果我们将这种思维用于观察警察的问题，就可以发现一些有趣的事实。例如，按照纽约州总检察长办公室（Attorney General’s Office）的统计，纽约市警察部门所拦截的人中只有15%被逮捕，而其他绝大部分都是无辜的群众。这实际上是在浪费警力，并且在整个社区中产生了一种不安全感，甚至导致了对警察的敌对情绪。

在某些地区，人们已经意识到——依靠社区来维护治安可能是一种更好的方式。

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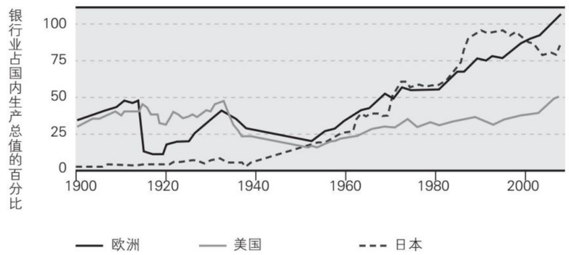


图6 银行业的增长

这个图显示了家庭和金融机构以外的组织的银行贷款。“欧洲”取的是丹麦、英国、法国、德国、意大利、荷兰、西班牙和瑞典的中间值。

资料来源：Schularick and Taylor（2012）

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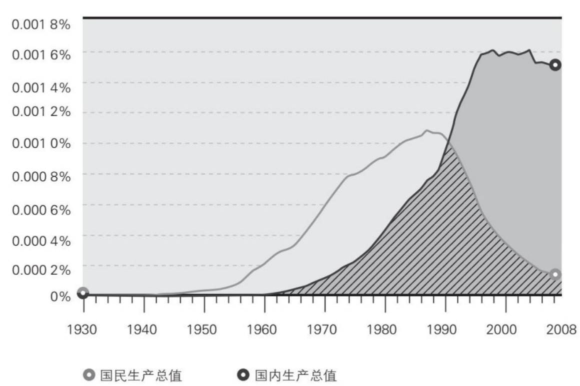


图7 1930—2008年，“国民生产总值”（GNP）和“国内生产总值”（GDP）出现在英语书中的流行程度

最初，更常用的衡量标准是国民生产总值，但是到了20世纪90年代，这种方式被国内生产总值所取代。国民生产总值是一个国家所有经济活动的总量（包括海外的经济活动），而国内生产总值则是指国内所有经济活动的总量（包括外国企业的经济活动）。大多数

国家国民生产总值和国内生产总值之间的缺口从未超过几个百分点。

资料来源：Google Ngram

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> 能够聪明地利用闲暇时间是文明最后的产物。
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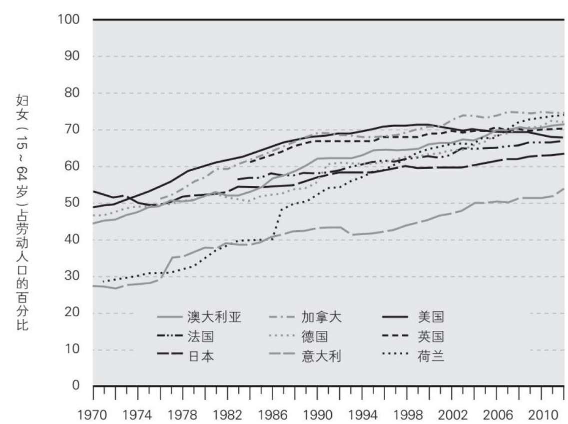


图8 工作场合中的妇女，1970—2012

资料来源：OECD

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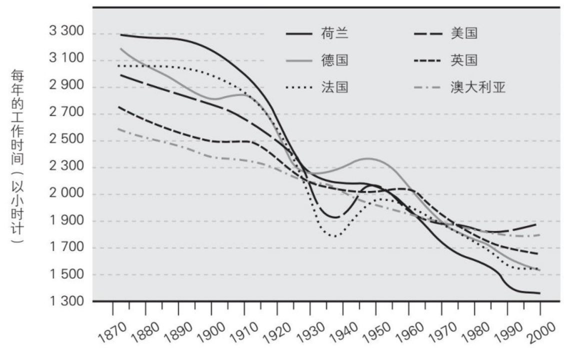


图9 我们的工作时间持续减少（截至1980年）

自从19世纪以来，人均年工作时间一直呈直线下降的趋势。但是1970年之后，由于参加工作的妇女人数增加，这些数字变得具有误导性。结果便是，留给家庭的时间越来越少，尽管，一些国家工人的劳动时间仍在减少。

资料来源：国际劳动组织

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> 工作是某些人的避风港，因为他们没有更好的事情可做。
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> ——奥斯卡·王尔德

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> 将来的目标是完全不用工作，这样我们就可以玩了。
>
> ——亚瑟·C. 克拉克
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> （Arthur C. Clarke，1917—2008）

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1965 · Gordon Moore *Electronics Magazine* 35 30

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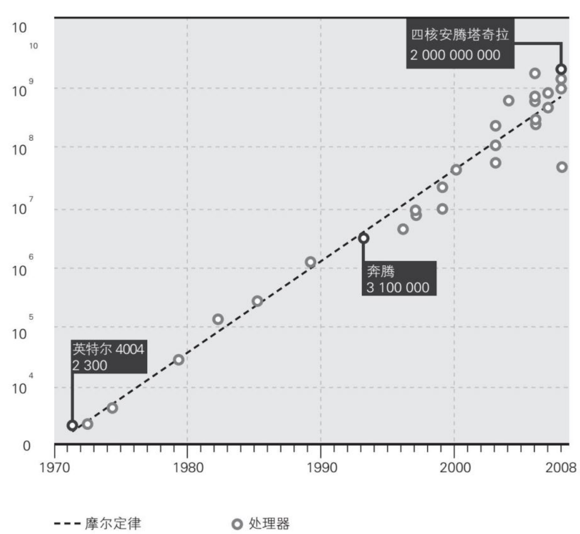


图10 摩尔定律

1970—2008年计算机处理器中晶体管的数量

资料来源：Wikimedia Commons

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[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]·[illegible]Nicholas Kaldor[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2/3[illegible]1/3[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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30[illegible]58%[illegible][10]

[illegible]Nutella[illegible]

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图11 能多益来自何方

资料来源：OECD

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[illegible]1963[illegible]

20[illegible]2000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

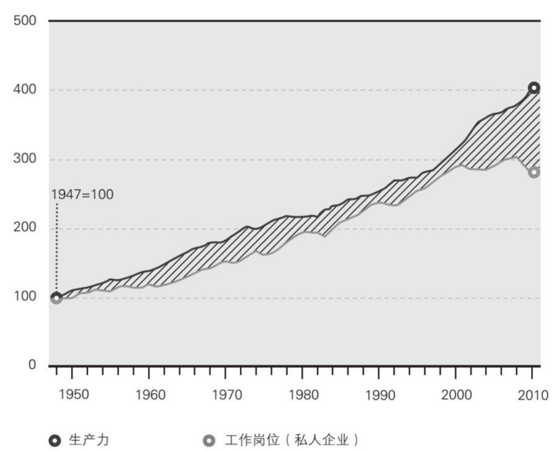


图12 1947—2011年，美国的生产力和工作岗位

资料来源：美国劳工部，美国劳工统计局

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1990[illegible]·[illegible]Ray Kurzweil[illegible]1998[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Deep Blue[illegible]·[illegible]Garry Kasparov[illegible]1997[illegible]ASCI[illegible]1[illegible]5 500[illegible]16[illegible]2013[illegible]2[illegible]Play Station 4[illegible]

[illegible]2011[illegible]·[illegible]Ken Jennings[illegible]·[illegible]Brad Rutter[illegible]*Jeopardy*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Watson[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]200[illegible]“‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]” [22]

[illegible]·[illegible]James Watt[illegible]1765[illegible]1776[illegible]60[illegible]60[illegible] [23]

[illegible]90[illegible]1800[illegible]3[illegible]70[illegible]4 000[illegible] [24] [illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”1987[illegible]·[illegible]Bob Solow[illegible]

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[illegible]19[illegible]70[illegible]1920[illegible][25]

[illegible]2004[illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible][26][illegible]6

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1812[illegible]4[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]George Mellor[illegible]·[illegible]William Cartwright[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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200[illegible][31][illegible]·[illegible]Ned Ludd[illegible]1779[illegible]·[illegible]Eric Hobsbawm[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

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1811[illegible]100[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Thomas Paine[illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

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[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible] Jan Hein Donner [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible] Francis II [illegible] 1768—1835 [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[37] [illegible] 19 [illegible]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Thomas Piketty[illegible][39][illegible]4%~5%[illegible]2%[illegible]

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20[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Reuther[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

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[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1%□□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□60%□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□John Marko , “Armies of Expensive Lawyers, Replaced by Cheaper Software,” *New York Times* (March 4,2011). http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/05/ science/05legal.html□

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UTOPIA FOR REALISTS

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> 未来已经在此——
>
> 只是分配尚不平均。
>
> ——威廉·吉布森
>
> （William Gibson，1948— ）

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[illegible]1 348[illegible]112[illegible]4 274[illegible][1][illegible]50[illegible]5[illegible][2][illegible][3][illegible][4][illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]70[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5][illegible][6][illegible]100[illegible]20[illegible]85%[illegible][7]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Esther Duflo[illegible][8][illegible]·[illegible]Alessandro Volta[illegible]1799[illegible]·[illegible][9][illegible]

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2003[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Poverty Action Lab[illegible]150[illegible]56[illegible]500[illegible]

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[illegible]1836[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Louis[illegible]44%[illegible]25%[illegible][11][illegible]

[illegible]1998[illegible]150[illegible]·[illegible]Michael Kremer[illegible]——[illegible]1991[illegible][12]

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[illegible]·[illegible]Jeffrey Sachs[illegible]·[illegible]William Easterly[illegible]2005[illegible]*The End of Poverty*[illegible]2025[illegible]

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$10 Solution”[illegible]“[illegible]”

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图13 哪些国家最富有?

这张图显示了那些国民生产总值最高的国家。国土的面积越大，说明其富裕程度越高。

资料来源：Sasi Group，谢菲尔德大学（University of Sheffield，2005）

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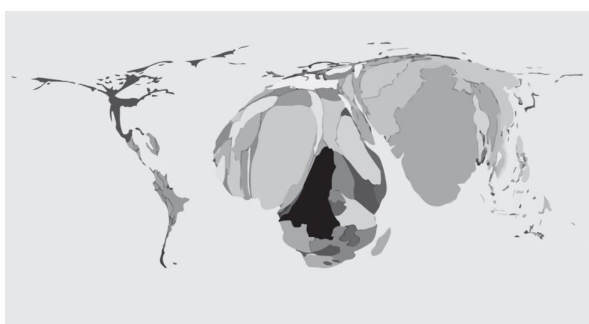


图14 儿童死亡率最高的地方是哪里？

这张图显示了儿童死亡率（5岁以下）最高的一些地区。国土的面积越大，说明儿童的死亡率越高。

资料来源：Sasi Group（谢菲尔德大学）和Mark Newman（密歇根大学），2012

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> 困难不在于提出新的思想，而在于摈弃旧的思想。
>
> ——约翰·梅纳德·凯恩斯
>
> （1883—1946）

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号角号行星向城市

发出预言：洪水要来了，快逃。

外太空警告郊区居民，

12月21日洪水将淹没我们。

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> 乌托邦就在地平线上。我朝它走了两步；它往前移了两步。我又走了十步，它又往前移了十步。
>
> 无论我怎么走，都走不到。那么，乌托邦有什么意义呢？它的意义就是：一直走下去。
>
> ——爱德华多·加莱亚诺
>
> （Eduardo Galeano，1940—2015）

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图15 奥弗顿之窗

资料来源：由CC BY-SA 2.0授权的《奥弗顿之窗》（“Overton Window”），作者为Hydrargyrum

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UTOPIA FOR REALISTS

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Maartje